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ABSTRACT

This article examines the formulation and implementation of language policy and the relationship between language rights and nationality rights in Yugoslavia. The distinction between formulation and implementation is affected by the hierarchical and decentralized politico-administrative system. Policy formulated in its most general form at the federal level is implemented through formulation of more detailed policy at the republic level; republic policy is implemented through formulation of more detailed policy at the communal level. A description is given of the federal and Slovene republic constitutions and the statute of the commune of Piran. Statements in these documents determine language policy in four main areas: (1) general principles, (2) publication of official documents and official communication, (3) judicial and administrative proceedings, and (4) education. Yugoslav language policy is contrasted with Stalinist policy in the delineation of language and nationality rights. Constitutional language policy delineates the boundary within which the rights of nationalities will be protected and beyond which these rights may not extend. (Author/AMH)

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The Language Planning Process and Language Rights in Yugoslavia

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La jena artikolo traktas la formuligon kaj realigon de la jugoslava lingvopolitiko kaj la rilaton inter lingraj rajtoj kaj naciaj rajtoj en Jugoslavio. La formuligo rilatas al instancaj decidoj pri (1) la interna strukturo de la lingva variajo, aŭ (2) la aljuĝo de funkcioj al la variajoj ene de iu lingva komunumo. La realigo rilatas al klopodoj ĉe membroj de komunumo, realigi la lingvopolitikon kaj igi ĝin akceptata. En Jugoslavio la distingo inter formuligo kaj realigo estas influita de la hierarkia, malcentrigita sistemo de politika administrado. La politiko, kiu en plej larĝa senco estas realigita laŭ respublikara federacio, estas plue realigita eĉ pli detale per la komunumoj.

En la nuna artikolo oni pritraktas la jugoslavan lingvopolitikon je la federacia, respublika kaj komununa niveloj. Ni aparte priskribas la federacian konstitucion, la konstitucion de la slovena respubliko, kaj la statuton de la komunumo Piran. Tiuj dokumentoj certigas interalie la lingvpolitikon en kvar ĉefaj sferoj: ĝeneralaj principoj, la eldonon de oficialaj dokumentoj kaj informiloj, kortumaj kaj administraj procedoj, kaj la eduksistemon.

La jugoslava lingvopolitiko distingiĝas disde la politiko, perfektigita de Stalin, rilate la skemigon de la lingvaj kaj naciaj rajtoj. La nuntempa jugoslava lingvopolitiko alcelas la disdividon de la lingvaj rajtoj disde la naciaj rajtoj. La konstitucia lingvopolitiko fiksas la limojn, ene de kiuj la naciaj rajtoj estos protektitaj, kaj kiujn la rajtaj devas ne ekscedi.

In language planning theory, a distinction is normally made between policy *formulation* and policy *implementation* (Fishman et al. 1971; Rubin 1971). The *formulation* of policy refers to decisions by official bodies which affect (1) the internal structure (including lexicon and phonological and grammatical systems) of language varieties or (2) the allocation of functions to varieties within a speech community. *Functions* refer to the domains (for example, home, school, government) in which different varieties are used; policy decisions may determine which varieties are used in (allocated to) specific domains. A common situation, in which a *High* variety is used in a cluster of domains such as school, government, and publishing, and a *Low* variety is used in a cluster of domains such as home, the street, and folk poetry, is called *diglossia*. This situation is often formed, in

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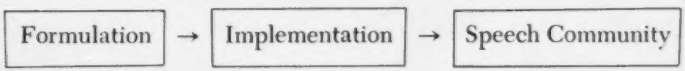
part, by language policy decisions (Ferguson 1959). Studies of policy formulation focus on statements by government officials, on legal documents, and on the processes by which those statements and documents were evolved. The *implementation* of policy refers to efforts to carry out and to gain acceptance of the policy among members of the speech community. Studies of policy implementation focus on specific official programs of action that affect allocation of functions or the internal structure of language varieties in the community. Such programs may include the writing of dictionaries and establishment of language programs in the schools. This distinction assumes that policy implementation chronologically follows formulation, and is represented in figure 1:

Figure 1
A Basic View of the Language Planning Process



In studies of language planning, a second important distinction is usually made between *nationality* rights and *language* rights. The assertion of nationality rights (*nationalism*, see Fishman 1968; Kelman 1971) along with language rights is well attested and much discussed in sociolinguistic literature (for example Das Gupta 1971; Kelman 1971). The typical view is that language rights are a "subset" of nationality rights and that, when language issues are involved in issues of nationalism, they are inseparable. In many countries (for example, Spain, Great Britian, India) attempts to further the use of any particular language are considered to be efforts to further the political, social, cultural, and economic rights of the different language groups. In these countries, language rights and nationality rights are inseparable.

In Yugoslavia, both distinctions take on special meaning. The distinction between formulation and implementation is affected by the hierarchical and decentralized political system. Language policy is formulated in its most general form at the federal level; this policy is implemented through formation of more detailed policy at the republic level; and republic language policy is implemented through formulation of even more detailed policy at the communal level.[1] Thus in the Yugoslav federal system, language policy formu-

lated at one political level is implemented by further policy formulated at a "lower" level.

The foundation of Yugoslav policy is the intentional and explicit separation of language and nationality rights, in contrast to their inseparability elsewhere. The purpose of this separation is to promote language rights but restrict the assertion of broader nationality rights. The effect of the policy has been a careful delineation of the boundary within which the rights of nationalities will be protected and beyond which efforts to assert those rights are not permitted. Official Yugoslav terminology denoting the "ethnic origin" of individuals makes use of the term *nationality*.[2] This broad category contains two sub-categories: *nation* and *nationality*. *Nation* denotes those six groups (Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Slovenes, and Moslems) which dominate the six republics. The second use of *nationality* denotes other ethnic groups (for example, Hungarians, Italians, Turks) which are not dominant in a republic. Two of these smaller nationalities have an intermediate status as dominant groups in the two semi-autonomous provinces. Albanians are the dominant group in the province of Kosovo; Hungarians are the dominant group in the province of Vojvodina. Thus official and common use (Lah 1972) applies two quite different meanings to the term *nationality*. The distinction between nations and smaller nationalities is so fundamental to official policy that references to all the people of Yugoslavia normally use the combination *nations and nationalities*. The absence of the term *minority* in the federal constitution of 1974 was a deliberate indicator of government language policy aimed at protection of the languages of smaller nationalities.

This paper will examine the formulation and implementation of language policy in Yugoslavia and outline the extent to which it has resulted in the divorce of language rights from nationality rights. The widespread recognition of the centrality of language policy to the Yugoslav socio-political system is suggested by the fact that it is spelled out in the Yugoslav constitutions, which constitute the cornerstone of Yugoslav language policy overall. A brief outline of the constitutional system and a summary of the most recent policies formulated in 1974 at the federal, republic, and communal levels follows. This article will also examine language policy in the republic of Slovenia and the commune of Piran in Slovenia—policy in these areas and general goals and methods of implementation are fairly typical of those in other areas of the country—and the Yugoslav approach to the relationship of language rights and nationality rights. This last fundamental problem will be explored by summarizing the main differences

between Yugoslav and Stalinist policies, which are essentially opposite approaches.

The Constitutional System

The Yugoslav federal constitution, consisting of several documents and amendments, has been rewritten periodically since World War II. Although discussion of the complex changes since the first constitution in 1947 are outside our scope, it is important to note that the 1947 constitution was a centralizing document designed to unite and reconstruct a nation divided by World War II. Since the 1950's, the trend has been toward increasing decentralization of authority and transfer of politico-administrative functions from the federal to the republic and communal levels (Jovanovic 1969; Lah 1972; Shoup 1968). This trend has resulted in the delegation of substantial language policy-making authority to the communal level and consequently in increasing specificity of language policy itself.

Each republic adopts its own constitution, which resembles in many respects the federal document. The republic constitutions are more detailed than the federal document, with specific references to the language situation in each republic. Each commune also adopts its own communal constitution, or *statute*. At this local level, language policy is most specific and detailed.

Language Planning in the Federal and Slovene Constitutions

Statements in the federal and Slovene constitutions which affect language rights may be divided into four main areas: *general principles*, *publication of official documents and official communication*, *judicial and administrative proceedings*, and *education*. Each area is addressed in a number of related articles throughout each constitution. The greatest focus is on general principles, with periodic reference to the other areas.[3] In addition, the federal constitution asserts that (1) all languages shall be equal in "international communication" (article 271); (2) the languages of the nations shall be used equally in international treaties (article 271); and (3) all languages and alphabets of the nations and nationalities shall be equal in the Armed Forces (article 243).[4] Referring to the increasingly important local defense forces, the Slovene constitution states that the language of commands in the forces in Slovenia shall be Slovenian (article 306).

General Principles

The sections of the federal and the Slovene constitutions which discuss general principles have nearly identical wording. Both guarantee the "equality" of all languages along with the means necessary to realize that equality. The Slovene constitution, for instance, states that "everyone has the right to express adherence to a nation, nationality, or ethnic group, to promote and express his own culture, and to use his native language and script" (article 212). The federal constitution decrees that the languages of the nations shall be the official languages (that is, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Slovenian, article 246), and the Slovene constitution specifically names Slovenian the official language to be used in public functions in Slovenia (article 212). The emphasis in both constitutions, however, is on the right to use languages other than Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian and to organize institutions to promote them. Both documents state this generally for all languages (federal articles 171, 246, 247). The Slovene constitution also refers to the sizable Italian and Hungarian nationalities in Slovenia: "In areas inhabited by members of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities . . . the Italian and Hungarian languages are guaranteed equality with the Slovenian language" (article 250). The details of this decree are discussed below in relation to the Italian nationality in Piran.

Despite these general principles, Serbo-Croatian is, in a limited sense, the national language of Yugoslavia. Serbs, Croats, Moslems, and Montenegrins speak varieties of Serbo-Croatian as their first language. Nearly all other individuals, including Macedonians, Slovenes, and members of smaller nationalities, speak some variety of Serbo-Croatian as a second language. Macedonian and Slovenian are official "national" languages, according to the federal constitution, which means that all official federal communication (for example newspapers) occurs in Macedonian and Slovenian as well as in two varieties (called Serbian and Croatian) of Serbo-Croatian.

Official Publication and Communication

The second area in which language policy is spelled out concerns official publication and communication. Here the 1974 federal constitution is explicit: "Federal statutes and other regulations and enactments shall be promulgated in the Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in authentic texts in the languages of

the nations of Yugoslavia specified by the republic constitutions . . . [and] as authentic texts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian nationalities also" (article 269). Since the federal constitution decrees the use of Slovenian, the Slovene constitution merely specifies in more detail the public bodies to which the general rule applies (article 212). Besides guaranteeing the general equality of the Italian and Hungarian languages with Slovenian, the Slovene document requires the communes and work associations to develop more detailed policies to fit local situations (article 250). Hence the communes and various work organizations are expected to formulate additional policies that will guarantee implementation of statements in the republic constitution.

Judicial and Administrative Proceedings

In statements affecting judicial and administrative proceedings, the two constitutions are similar. The federal document guarantees the right of members of all nationalities to use their languages in proceedings before all public agencies (article 171). The Slovene constitution guarantees the same, but adds that the officiating civil servant shall inform the citizen of "the facts and course of the proceedings in his own language and in the manner established by [communal] statute" (article 212). Leaving it to the communal statutes to spell out in detail how this guarantee is to be implemented, this article makes no statement about providing a translation of written materials or an interpreter. Again, the communal statute is expected to provide the crucial implementation of constitutional guarantees.

Education

Both constitutions state that members of nations and nationalities have a right to school instruction conducted in their own languages (federal article 171; Slovene article 250). In addition, the Slovene document guarantees that the republic will provide "for the development of schooling, press and other public information media, and cultural-educational activities of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities . . . and to this end extends the necessary assistance" (article 250). This clause has been interpreted as a commitment by the republic to provide the additional funds required for bilingual schools in Italian and Hungarian communes. Implementation of this commitment takes place only when required by provisions of communal statutes (Petric 1966).

Language in the Communal Statute of Piran

As suggested by this summary, both the federal and republic constitutions are statements of principles and goals rather than of specific details of policy implementation. As the constitutions state, the purpose of the communal statutes is to implement policies in relation to the social, economic, and linguistic conditions of each commune. Thus, statutes vary considerably. For instance, the statute of Ljubljana states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Slovenian and it requires only that an interpreter be provided; while the statute of Piran mandates proceedings in the language of the defendant, if Italian or Slovenian, or bilingual proceedings if both Italian and Slovenian speakers are involved. This contrast can be attributed to differences in the communal populations. Ljubljana is mainly Slovene, only 3% Croat and 2% Serb. The city of Piran, with a population of slightly over 5,000, is the center of the Italian community of Slovenia, with 3,000 Italians inside the republic. Therefore the statute of the Commune of Piran must address the specific language situation of the multi-ethnic population of the commune in implementing the general provisions of the federal and Slovene constitutions.

The communal statute of Piran contains passages resembling the statements of general principles in the federal and Slovene constitutions, but make special references to Italians in the commune. A section of the statute titled "Position of the Citizens of Italian Nationality and Bilingual Usage" begins: "Citizens of the Italian nationality shall freely use their language in the Communal Assembly and its bodies, throughout public and social life, in discharging public functions and other public duties, as well as in exercising their legal rights and in using their legal benefits" (article 64).

Implementation of this general statement of language equality in official publications and communication requires a policy of official bilingualism. Official documents, for instance, are issued in both Italian and Slovenian and both are considered originals (article 70). All civil servants are expected to use Italian when dealing with Italians. Government marriage ceremonies for two Italians are in Italian, bilingual if between an Italian and a Slovene (article 72). All public notices, materials for voters' meetings, and printed forms in the registry office, revenue office, health service, social insurance service, industrial safety and social protection service, and communal court are to be bilingual (articles 73, 74). Official stamps and seals, traffic and placename signs, and all public notice boards and kiosks also must be in Slovenian and Italian (articles 75, 76, 77).

The statute is equally specific with regard to judicial and administrative proceedings. Penal procedures are to be conducted in the language of the defendant; similarly, all other proceedings are in the language of the appearing citizen. Should both an Italian and a Slovenian speaker be involved, the proceedings must be bilingual (article 70). Copies of constitutions and the communal statute are to be issued in both languages and both are to be considered originals. Finally, the statute requires workplaces and other organizations to "regulate and determine the positions of their citizens and workers of Italian nationality" in conformity with the statute (article 78). This final clause thus requires organizations to formulate their own language policies in conformity with the provisions of the Piran communal statute.

Education with Italian as the medium of instruction takes place at the Italian primary schools of Piran, Lucija, Strunjan, and Sečovlje (that is, at four out of ten primary schools in the commune) and at the Italian secondary school of Piran (that is, at one out of two in the commune). (For additional data, see *Osnovne in srednje šole* . . . 1976.) In schools with mixed Italian and Slovene populations, where Italian is the medium of instruction, Slovenian is a compulsory subject for all students at all levels; where Slovenian is the medium of instruction, Italian is compulsory. Furthermore, the commune cooperates with neighboring communes in guaranteeing vocational training in Italian.

Thus, in all areas of language rights discussed here, the communal statute of Piran formulates detailed language policies aimed at implementing the general policy of the federal and republic constitutions. In addition, the statute requires workplaces and organizations to formulate additional policies which implement the policy statements of the statute. The hierarchical and decentralized political structure requires that language policy be formulated and implemented at different levels; policy formulated at one level is the implementation of policy formulated at a "higher" political level.

Language Rights

Yugoslav constitutional language policy clearly is an attempt to guarantee language rights in several areas. In addition, the statements of general principles and goals provide legal and moral support for efforts to maintain and advance the language of all nations and nationalities. Nevertheless, there remains substantial uncertainty about at least two questions: (1) the ultimate, unstated goals of the policy;

and (2) the relationship between language rights and the larger issue of nationalism. The general principles stated by the constitutions provide a preliminary answer to the first question, namely, that language policy is aimed at creating opportunities for the full use of various languages. As Rabin (1971) has emphasized, however, actual policy goals may be quite complex, different from stated goals, and dependent on a range of other policies not directly related to language. Therefore, to determine the ultimate goals of Yugoslav language policy, the second issue—nationality rights—must be considered.

Language is usually assumed to be an inherent part of the complex issue of nationalism and national identity. In Yugoslavia, however, it is important to differentiate between language policy and other policy areas. It appears, in fact, that a careful separation of language policy from broader issues of nationalism has been a major goal of Yugoslav government leaders. For instance, both the federal and republic constitutions strongly condemn "nationalism" while supporting the promotion of language rights. The Slovene document states: "Propagating or practicing national inequality and any incitement of national, racial, or religious hatred and intolerance shall be unconstitutional and punishable" (article 214). Language policy constitutes the most important delineation of the boundary within which the rights of nationalities will be protected and beyond which these rights may not extend. Implementing this boundary in practice has required periodic constitutional revisions and remains a continuing process.

Yugoslav and Stalinist Policy

Perhaps the clearest indication of the purpose of Yugoslav policy is its contrast to Stalinist language policy. In fact, language policy in Yugoslavia, and its separation from the broader issues of nationality rights, appears to bear at least superficial resemblance to Stalin's formulation of the relationship between nationality, nationalism, and the socialist revolution. Stalin argued that a community must have a more or less clearly defined majority, preferably distinguished by its own language, in order to qualify as a republic (Stalin 1945). Stalin asserted furthermore that nations (as socio-cultural units) are formed during the capitalist stage of development (Stalin 1940) and that relations between nationalities in a multi-national state are fundamentally altered by the socialist revolution. These assumptions were made also by Kardelj in his analysis of the national question in Yugoslavia (Kardelj 1938; 1958).

There are, however, fundamental differences between Stalin's views

and those of Tito, Kardelj, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. During the years immediately after the war, when the Yugoslavs tried to apply a Stalinist approach to the national problem, it was assumed that the spread of the revolution to all aspects of society would necessarily resolve the tensions among the different nations and nationalities. The argument was simple: since "bourgeois elements" were responsible for national problems before the war, the creation of new, socialist relations would end nationality conflicts. After the break with Stalin, however, this issue was reanalyzed. The (socio-cultural) nation came to be seen as fundamental to the operation of a socialist political and economic system. Kardelj, in opposition to Stalin, argued that the positive, integrating role of the nation continued to exist regardless of the politico-economic form assumed by the state (see the analysis by Shoup 1968).

There are other important differences between Stalin's approach and that of the Yugoslavs. Stalin asserted the right of nations to combine and paid lip service to their right to secede from such alliances (Stalin 1934). In the true socialist system, though, republics would lose the right to secede as their historical, capitalist foundation disappeared. In practice, Stalinist nationality policy relied on a highly centralized administration to suppress what were viewed as ideologically based (capitalist) nationalities. In Yugoslavia, this approach, aimed at smothering rather than resolving national conflict, was used in the late 1940s and early 1950s. But in the post-Stalinist period in Yugoslavia, a relatively open, frank discussion of the nationality question was encouraged (Shoup 1968). The result has been a decentralized administrative system which is, in part, organized by nationality and which is aimed at the retention of language differences and the limitation of nationality conflict. As the above summary of language policy at the three political levels indicates, the practical (rather than ideological) solution was to define language rights as the area in which nationality rights may be pressed and to ensure the maintenance of nationality differences by incorporating them into the basic organization of the federal, decentralized socio-political system. Yugoslavs no longer make the argument (as did Stalin 1934) that the success of the revolution will be marked by an end to nationality differences. In Yugoslav Marxist theory, nationality is protected by and expressed in the new socialist state, a view manifest most clearly in the constitutional statements of language policy.

This Yugoslav view was important for Soviet-Yugoslav relations for another reason: It constituted the formulation of an ideological justification for Yugoslavia's right to develop separately. Faced with politi-

cal and economic pressure from the Russians, Kardelj in 1958 issued his theoretical justification for the Yugoslav brand of Communism (Kardelj 1958; 1970). By doing so, he argued that local differences must determine the path of socialist development. This argument applied to the relationship between Yugoslavia and Russia and to that among the Yugoslav republics. Thus, both foreign and domestic policy considerations led to the Yugoslav view that the true socialist state expresses and protects linguistic and national diversity. The obvious danger to such a resolution is the growth of nationalist sentiments which could ultimately have a disintegrative effect on the Yugoslav federal system. The attempted resolution of this problem has been to focus the expression of nationalist sentiments on the area of language rights. Thus, the limits to expressions of nationality rights are more or less clear: the right to full use of one's language is protected and promoted by official policy at all government levels, but attempts to gain further national rights (for example, independence) are not.

Conclusion

In this paper I have analyzed the language policy at three levels of the Yugoslav socio-political system. The policy at these levels presents an unusual relationship between policy formulation and implementation: In Yugoslavia, implementation of policy at a "higher" socio-political level is promoted through formulation of policy at a "lower" socio-political level (see figure 2).

The Yugoslav case suggests that the standard view of the language planning process is oversimplified. The standard view (see figure 1) is that policy formulation is followed by implementation in the speech community (Karam, 1974). The Yugoslav case suggests that the application of this process within a complex socio-political structure requires a modification of the outline of the process. Figure 3 presents a tri-level structure in which language planning takes place at all levels. The figure may be easily adjusted for a two-or four-level system.

The Yugoslav situation clearly suggests the importance of viewing the planning process within the socio-political system in which the process takes place. Thus, which specific actions and decisions constitute formulation or implementation is determined by the socio-political level at which they occur.

The Yugoslav case also presents an instance of the attempted separation of language rights from nationality rights. In Yugoslavia, the assertion of language rights is the area in which national sentiments

Figure 2
Language Policy Formulation and Implementation in Yugoslavia

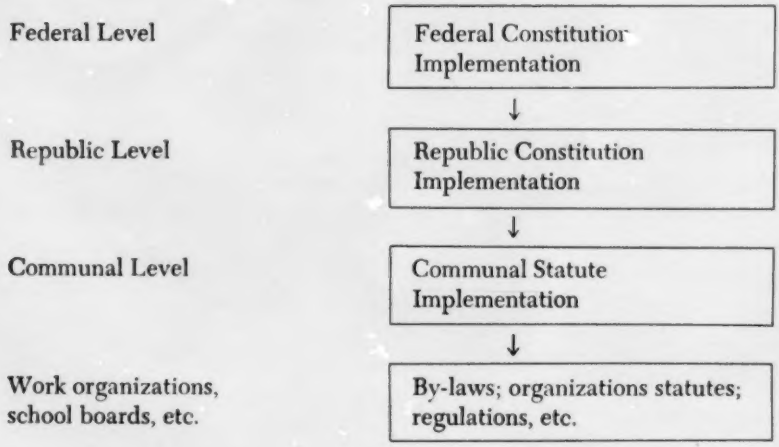
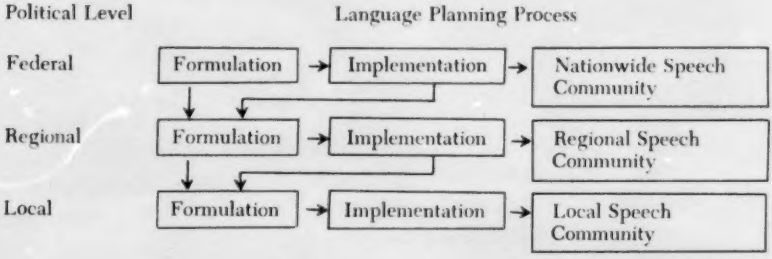


Figure 3
The Language Planning Process and Political Structure



are allowed to be expressed. This delineation of the limits of nationalist feelings is carefully established in the federal and republic constitutions and the communal statutes. The constitutions and statutes go to great lengths to protect the language rights of all nationalities, while at the same time they express powerful sanctions against other manifestations of nationalism. This balancing of the power of different socio-political levels and of different nationalities is the foundation of the largely successful effort by Tito's government to resolve the long-standing Yugoslav national problem.[5]

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DEUTSCHE FASSUNG

Diese Artikel behandelt die Formulierung und Ausführung der jugoslawischen Sprachpolitik und das Verhältnis zwischen Sprachrechten und Nationalrechten in Jugoslawien. Die Formulierung bezieht sich auf Entscheidungen der Amtsgewalten hinsichtlich (1) der Innenstruktur der Sprachvarietäten bzw. (2) der Funktionszuteilung an die Varietäten innerhalb einer Sprachgemeinschaft. Die Ausführung bezieht sich auf Versuche unter Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern die Sprachpolitik durchzusetzen und Annahme zu finden. In Jugoslawien wird die Unterscheidung zwischen Formulierung und Ausführung durch das hierarchische und dezentralisierte politische Verwaltungssystem beeinflußt. Die in allgemeinster Form bundesstaatlich bestimmte Politik wird durch Formulierung einer ausführlicher Politik der Republiken durchgesetzt, die darüberhinaus in noch ausführlicher Form durch die Gemeinden durchgesetzt werden.

In dieser Artikel soll die jugoslawische Sprachpolitik auf Bundes-, Republiks- und Gemeindesebene behandelt werden. Insbesondere werden die Bundesverfassung, die Verfassung der slowenischen Republik und das Statut der Gemeinde Piran beschrieben. Diese Dokumente bestimmen unter anderem die Sprachpolitik in vier Hauptbereichen: Allgemeinprinzipien, Herausgabe amtlicher Dokumente und Mitteilungen, Gerichts- und Verwaltungsverfahren, und Schulwesen.

Die jugoslawische Sprachpolitik unterscheidet sich von der durch Stalin vollendete Politik in dem Entwurf der Sprach- und Nationalrechte. Die gegenwärtige jugoslawische Sprachpolitik ziehlt auf eine Scheidung der Sprachrechten von den Nationalrechten. Die Verfassungssprachpolitik stellt die Grenzen dar, innerhalb welchen die Nationalrechte werden beschützt werden und worüber die Rechte nicht hinausgehen dürfen.

NOTES

1. There are six republics in Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro. The republics possess major policy making authority over a large area of public concern, including education, economic planning, and transportation. Most of the republics are dominated by groups with names that are cognate with the names of the republic. For example, Montenegrins inhabit Montenegro. Ethno-linguistic factors form the basis of the republics, with the exception of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Moslem nation inhabits the republic, but does not numerically dominate it. Thus, in this case a religious factor overlaps with ethnic and linguistic factors.

There are about 500 communes in the country. The commune is the basic political unit from which delegates to higher political levels are chosen. The commune is considered to be a fundamental component of the self-management system (see Nikolić 1975) and the socio-political level in which individuals are expected to have the greatest direct involvement in the formulation and implementation of official policies. Geographical size and population of the communes vary widely, depending mainly on the degree of urbanization of the area. Within Slovenia, for instance, are: Metlika, with an area of 108 km.^{2} and a population of 7,600; Ljubljana-Center, 5 km.^{2} and 40,000 inhabitants; and Maribor, 738 km.^{2} and a population of 184,000.

2. I will not attempt to resolve here the enormous theoretical and definitional problems with the terms *nationality*, *nationalism*, *nation*, and *minority*. Fishman (1968) suggests that at least two major processes are involved in what is normally considered nationalism, and thus distinguishes *nationality-nationalism* and *nation-nationism*. Several articles in Mackey and Verdoodt (1975) also face the terminological problems involved. In Yugoslavia, the primary distinguishing characteristic of what are called nationality rights (also nationalism) seems to be an attempt to acquire some form of politico-administrative autonomy. Hence efforts to maintain and expand the use of a language variety (language rights) are officially acceptable, while efforts to expand political or administrative authority for language groups (nationality rights) are not. In general, however, Yugoslav analyses of nationality issues suffer as greatly from conceptual and terminological confusion as analyses elsewhere.

3. A number of surveys of specific sections of the federal and republic constitutions have been conducted by Yugoslav experts. Among these are Drušković (1976), Jeri (1974), and Jončić (1974) regarding the federal constitution; Andraka (1976), Vukobratović (1976), and Zamostny (1976) on Croatia; Morina (1976) on Serbia; Mujović (1976) on Montenegro; and Stojanovski (1976) on Macedonia.

4. This last statement is a change from the 1969 amendments, article 42, in which Serbo-Croatian is explicitly decreed the language of commands and drill in the military. While Serbo-Croatian remains the main language used, the 1974 article permits use of local languages, indicating the continued trend toward decentralization in most areas of Yugoslav life.

5. A note on the translation of documents: English translations of articles from the federal constitution are taken from *The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (trans. Marko Pavicic, Belgrade: Secretariat of the Federal Assembly Information Service, 1974). Articles 212, 213, and 214 of the Slovene constitution appear in English in the appendix to *Nations and Nationalities of Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Medunarodna Politika, 1974); and sections of an older Slovene constitution and of the Piran statute appear in Petric (1966).

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